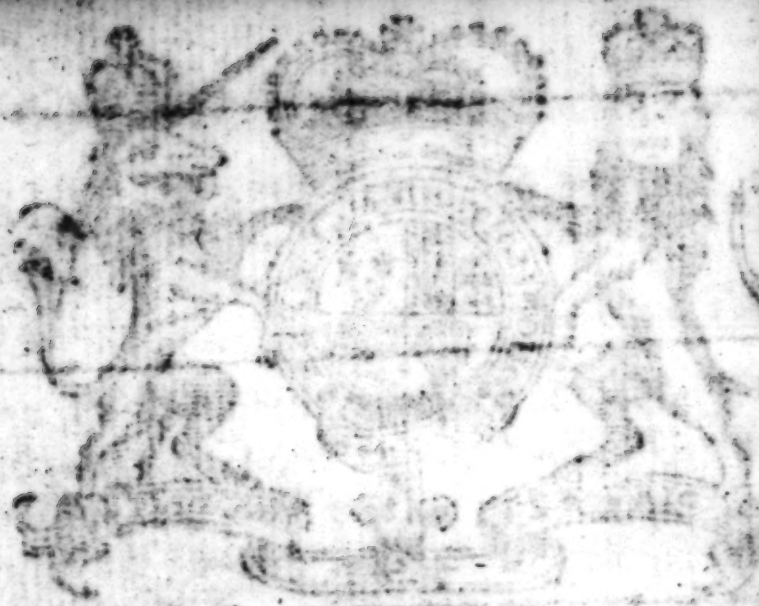

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

LORD BELHAVEN's SPEECH.

My Lord Chancellor,

WHEN I consider this affair of an UNION betwixt the two nations, as it is expressed in the several Articles thereof, and now the subject of our deliberation at this time, I find my mind crowded with variety of very melancholy thoughts; and I think it my duty to disburden myself of some of them, by laying them before, and exposing them to the serious consideration of this honourable house.

I think I see *a free and independent kingdom* delivering up that which all the world have been fighting for since the days of *Nimrod*; yea, that for which most of the empires, kingdoms, states principalities and dukedoms of *Europe*, are at this very time engaged in the most bloody and cruel wars that ever were, *to wit*, a power to manage their own affairs by themselves, without the assistance and counsel of any other.

I think I see *a national church*, founded upon a rock, secured by a *claim of right*, hedged and fenced about by the strictest and pointedest legal sanction that sovereignty could contrive, voluntarily descending unto a plain, upon an equal level with *Jews*, *Papists*, *Socinians*, *Arminians*, *Anabaptists*, and other Sectaries, *&c.*

I think I see *the noble and honourable peerage of* Scotland, whose valiant predecessors led armies against their enemies upon their own proper charge and expences, now divested of their followers and vassallages, and put upon such an equal foot with their vassals, that I think I see a petty *English* excise-man receive more homage and respect than was paid formerly to their *quondam MacKalmores*.

I think I see *the peers of* Scotland whose noble ancestors conquered provinces, over-run countries, reduced and subjected towns, and fortified places, exacted tribute through the greatest part of *England*, now walking the court of requests, like so many *English* attornies, laying aside their

walki

walking ſwords, when in company with the *Engliſh* peers, leſt their ſelf-defence ſhould be found murder.

I think I ſee *the honourable eſtate of barons*, the bold aſſerters of the nation's rights and liberties in the worſt of times, now ſetting a watch upon their lips, and a guard upon their tongues, leſt they be found guilty of *ſcandalum magnatum*.

I think I ſee *the royal ſtate of boroughs* walking their deſolate ſtreets, hanging down their heads under diſappointments, wormed out of all the branches of their old trade, uncertain what hand to turn to, neceſſitate to become apprentices to their unkind neighbours; and yet, after all, finding their trade ſo fortified by companies, and ſecured by preſcriptions, that they deſpair of any ſucceſs therein.

I think I ſee *our learned Judges* laying aſide their practics and deciſions, ſtudying the common law of *England*, gravelled with certioraries, *niſi prius*'s, writs of error, verdicts indovr, *ejectione firmæ*, injunctions, demurs, &c. and fighted with appeals and advocations,

because of the new regulations and rectifications they may meet with.

I think I see *the valiant and gallant ſoldiery*, either ſent to learn the plantation trade abroad, or at home petitioning for a ſmall ſubſiſtence, as the reward of their honourable exploits, while their old corps are broken, the common ſoldiers left to beg, and the youngeſt *Engliſh* corps kept ſtanding.

I think I ſee *the honeſt induſtrious tradeſman* loaded with new taxes and impoſitions, diſappointed of the equivalents, drinking water in place of ale, eating his ſaltleſs pottage, petitioning for encouragement to his manufactories, and anſwered by counter petitions.

In ſhort, I think I ſee *the laborious ploughman*, with his corns ſpoiling upon his hands for want of ſale, curſing the day of his birth, dreading the expence of his burial, and uncertain whether marry or to do worſe.

I think I ſee the incurable difficulties of the *landed men*, fettered under the golden chain of equivalents, their pretty daughters petitioning a-

want of husbands, and their sons for want of employments.

I think I see our *mariners* delivering up their ships to their *Dutch* partners, and, what through presses and necessity, earning their bread as underlings in the royal *English* navy.

But, above all, *My Lord*, I think I see *our antient mother* CALEDONIA, like *Cæsar*, sitting in the midst of our senate, ruefully looking round about her, covering herself with her royal garment, attending the fatal blow, and breathing out her last, with a *Et tu quoque mi fili squadrone!*

Are not these, *My Lord*, very afflicting thoughts? And yet they are but the least part suggested to me by these dishonourable Articles. Should not the consideration of these things vivify these *dry bones* of ours? Should not the memory of our noble predecessors' *valour and constancy* rouse up our drooping spirits? Are our noble predecessors' souls got so far into the *English cabbage-stock and colliflowers*, that we should shew the least inclination that way? Are our eyes so blinded? Are our ears so deafened?

ned? Are our hearts so hardened? Are our tongues so faltered? Are our hands so fettered, *That in this our day*, I say, My Lord, *that in this our day, we should not mind the things that concern the very being and well-being of our antient kingdom, before they be hid from our eyes!*

No, My Lord, *God forbid: Man's extremity is God's opportunity: he is a present help in time of need, and a deliverer, and that right early.* Some unforeseen providence will fall out that may cast the balance. Some *Joseph* or other will say, "Why do you strive together "since you are brethren?" None can destroy *Scotland*, save *Scotland*'s self.

Hold your hands from the pen, you are secure. Some *Judah* or other will say, "Let not our hands be upon the "lad; he is our brother." Then will be a *JEHOVAH-JIREH*, and some *ram* will be *caught in the thicket*, when the bloody knife is at our mother's throat. Let us up then, My Lord, and let our noble patriots behave themselves like men, and *we know not how soon a blessing may come.*

M

My Lord, I wish from my heart, that this my vision prove not as true, as my reasons for it are probable. I design not at this time to enter into the merits of any one particular Article. I intend this discourse as an introduction to what I may afterwards say upon the whole debate, as it falls in before this honourable house; and therefore, in the farther prosecution of what I have to say, I shall insist upon some few particulars, very necessary to be understood, before we enter into a detail of so important a matter.

I shall therefore, in the *first place*, encourage a free and full deliberation, without animosities and heats. In the *next place*, I shall endeavour to make inquiry into the nature and source of the unnatural and dangerous divisions that are now on foot within this isle; with some motives, shewing that it is our interest to lay them aside at this time. *Then* I shall inquire into the reasons which have induced the two nations to enter into a *Treaty of Union* at this time; with some considerations and meditations, with relation to the

behaviour

behaviour of the Lords Commissione
of the two kingdoms, in the manag
ment of this great concern. And, l
ly, I shall propose a method, by whi
we shall, most distinctly, and witho
confusion, go through the several A
ticles of this Treaty, without unnece
sary repetitions, or loss of time. A
all this with all deference, and unde
the correction of this honourable house.

My Lord Chancellor, The greatest ho
nour that was done unto a *Roman*, w
to allow him the glory of a triumph
The greatest and most dishonourab
punishment was that of *paricide*. H
that was guilty of *paricide* was beat
with rods upon his naked body, t
the blood gushed out of all the vei
of his body: then he was sowed up
a leathern sack, called a *Culeus*, with
cock, a viper, and an ape, and throw
headlong into the sea.

My Lord, Patricide is a greater crim
than paricide all the world over.

In a triumph, *my Lord*, when t
conqueror was riding in his triumph
chariot, crowned with laurels, adorn
with trophies, and applauded wi
huzz

uzzas, there was a Monitor appointed
o ſtand behind him, to warn him,
" Not to be high-minded, nor puffed
" up with overweening thoughts of
" himſelf;" and to his chariot were
ed a whip and a bell, to mind him,
" That for all his glory and grandeur,
" he was accountable to the people
" for his adminiſtration, and would
" be puniſhed as other men, if found
" guilty."

The greateſt honour amongſt us, *my Lord*, is to repreſent the Sovereign's ſacred perſon in parliament; and in one particular, it appears to be greater than that of a triumph, becauſe the whole legiſlative power ſeems to be wholly intruſted with him. If he gives the royal aſſent to an act of the Eſtates, it becomes a law obligatory upon the ſubject, tho' contrary, or without any inſtructions from the Sovereign: If he refuſe the royal aſſent to a vote in parliament, it cannot be a law, tho' he has the Sovereign's particular and poſitive inſtructions for it.

His Grace the duke of *Queensberry*, who now repreſents her Majeſty in this

ſeſſion

ſeſſion of Parliament, hath had the h
nour of that great truſt, as often, if n
more, than any *Scotſman* ever had; h
hath been the favourite of two ſucce
ſive Sovereigns; and I cannot but com
mend his conſtancy and perſeverence
that, notwithſtanding his former diffi
culties, and unſucceſsful attempts, an
maugre ſome other ſpecialties not ye
determined, that his Grace has yet ha
the reſolution to undertake the mo
unpopular meaſures laſt. If his Grace
ſucceed in this affair of an Union, an
that it prove for the happineſs and wel
fare of the nation, then he juſtly me
rits to have a ſtatue of gold erected fo
himſelf; but, if it ſhall tend to the en
tire deſtruction and abolition of ou
nation, and that we the nation's truſtee
ſhall go in to it, then I muſt ſay, Tha
a whip and a bell, a cock, a viper, an
an ape, are but too ſmall puniſhmen
for any ſuch bold unnatural underta
ing and complaiſance.

That I may pave a way, *my Lord*,
a full, calm, and free reaſoning upo
this affair, which is of the laſt conſe
quence unto this nation, I ſhall firſt
th

honourable house, that we are the
cessors of our noble predecessors,
o founded our monarchy, framed
r laws, amended, altered, and cor-
ted them from time to time, as the
airs and circumstances of the nation
d require, without the assistance or
vice of any foreign power or poten-
te; and who, during the time of
oo years, have handed them down
us, a free independent nation, with
e hazard of their lives and fortunes.
all not we then argue for that which
r progenitors have purchased for us
so dear a rate, and with so much im-
ortal honour and glory? God forbid.
all the hazard of a father unbind the
aments of a dumb son's tongne, and
all we hold our peace, when our *Pa-*
is in danger! I speak this, *my Lord*,
t I may encourage every individual
mber of this house to speak his mind
ly. There are many wise and pru-
t men amongst us, who think it
worth their while to open their
ths: there are others, who can
very well and to good purpose,
shelter themselves under the shame

ful cloke of silence, from a fear of
frowns of great men and
have observed, *my Lord*, by
ence, the greatest number of
in the most trivial affairs; and
always prove so, while we come
the right understanding of our
de fideli, whereby we are bound
only to give our vote, but our
advice in parliament, as we should
swer to God; and, in our antient
the representatives of the
Barons, and the royal Borough
termed *Spokesmen*: It lies upon
Lordships therefore, particular
take notice of such, whose
makes them bashful to speak. Th
fore I shall leave it upon
conclude this point with a very
rable saying of an honest privat
tleman to a great *queen*, upon
of a state project, contrived
able Statesman, and the
great *king*, against a
ent people, because of
their laws and constitu
"this time thou hold
"[illegible]

...other place; but thou and thy ... shall perish". I leave the application to each particular member of ... I am come now to consider ... We are under the happy ... (blessed be God) of the best of ... who has no evil design against the meanest of her subjects; who loves ... her people, and is equally beloved ... them again: and yet, that under ... happy influence of our most excellent Queen, there should be such divisions and factions, more dangerous and threatening to her dominions than if ...

prove a good Prince, the governme
is easy; if bad, either death or a rev
lution brings a deliverance: where
here, *my Lord*, there appears no end
our misery, if not prevented in tim
l actions are now become independe
and have got footing in councils,
parliaments, in treaties, in armies,
incorporations, in families, amon
kindred; yea, man and wife are n
free from their political jarrs.

It remains therefore, *my Lord*, that
enquire into the nature of these thing
and, since the names give us not t
right idea of the thing, I am afraid
will have difficulty to make myself w
understood.

The names generally used to deno
the factions, are *Whig* and *Tory*, as o
scure as that of *Guelfs* and *Gibelin*
Yea, *my Lord*, they have different sig
fications, as they are applied to fa
ons in each kingdom. A *Whig* in E
land is a heterogeneous creature;
Scotland he is all of a piece; a *Tory*
England is all of a piece, and a Stat
man in *Scotland* he is quite otherwa
an Anti-courtier and Anti-statesman

A *Whig* in *England* appears to be somewhat like *Nebuchadnezzar*'s image, of different metals, different classes, different principles, and different designs; yet, take them altogether, they are like a piece of fine mixed droggat of different threeds, some finer, some coarser, which after all make a comely appearance, and an agreeable suit. *Tory* is like a piece of loyal made *English* cloth, the true staple of the nation, all of a threed: yet, if we look narrowly into it, we shall perceive diversity of colours, which, according to the various situations and positions, makes various appearances. Sometimes *Tory* is like the moon in its full, as appeared in the affair of the *Bill of the succession*: at other occasions, it appears to be under cloud, and as if it were eclipsed by a greater body, as it was in the design of the calling over the illustrious Princess *Sophia*. However by this we may see their designs to outshoot *Whig* in his own bow. *Whig* in *Scotland* is a true blue *Presbyterian*, who, without considering time or power, will venture his all for the

Kirk, but something less for the Stat
The greatest difficulty is, how to de
scribe a *Scots Tory*. Of old, when
knew him first, *Tory* was an honest
hearted comeradish fellow, who, pro
vided he were maintained and protect
ed in his benefices, titles and dignities
by the State, was the less anxious who
had the government and management
of the church. But now what he is
since *Jure Divinity* came in fashion
and that Christianity, and by conse
quence salvation, comes to depend up
on Episcopal Ordination, I profess,
knew not what to make of him. On
ly this I must say for him, that he en
deavours to do by opposition, tha
which his brother in *England* endeavour
by a more prudent and less scrupulou
method.

Now, my *Lord*, from these division
there has got up a kind of *Aristocrasy*
something like the famous triumvir
at *Rome*. They are a kind of undert
takers and pragmatic statesmen, who
finding their power and strength gre
and insolvable to their designs, w
make bargains with our gracious Sov
reign

reign; they will serve her faithfully, but upon their own terms; they must have their own instruments, their own measures; this man must be turned out, and that man put in, and then they will make her the most *glorious Queen* in *Europe*.

Where will this end, *my Lord*? Is not her Majesty in danger by such a method? Is not the monarchy in danger? Is not the nation's peace and tranquillity in danger? Will a change of parties make a nation more happy? No, *my Lord*; the seed is sown, that is like to afford us a perpetual increase. It is not an annual herb. It takes deep root; it seeds and breeds; and, if not timely prevented by her Majesty's royal endeavours, will split the whole kingdom in two.

My Lord, I think, considering our present circumstances at this time, the Almighty God has reserved this great work for us. We may bruise this *Hydra* of division, and crush this *cockatrice*'s egg. Our neighbours in *England* are not yet fitted for any such thing; they are not under the afflicting hand of

Providence,

providence, as we are: their circum-
ſtance are great and glorious, their
treaties are prudently managed both
at home and abroad, their generals
brave and valorous, their armies ſuc-
ceſsful and victorious, their trophies
and laurels memorable and ſurprizing,
their enemies ſubdued and routed,
their ſtrong-holds beſieged and taken,
ſieges relieved, marſhals killed and ta-
ken priſoners; provinces and kingdoms
are the reſults of their victories; the
royal navy is the terror of *Europe*, their
trade and commerce extended through
the univerſe, encircling the whole ha-
bitable world, and rendering their
own capital city the Emporium for
the whole inhabitants of the earth;
and which is yet more than all theſe
things, the ſubjects freely beſtowing
their treaſure upon their Sovereign;
and, above all, theſe vaſt riches, the
ſinews of war, and without which, all
the glorious ſucceſs had proven abor-
tive, theſe treaſures are managed with
ſuch faithfulneſs and nicety, that they
anſwer ſeaſonably all their demands
tho' at never ſo great a diſtance, or U-

these considerations, *my Lord*, how hard and difficult a thing will it prove to perswade our neighbours to a self-denial bill?

'Tis quite otherways with us, *my Lord*. We are an obscure poor people, tho' formerly of better account removed to a remote corner of the world, without name, and without alliances, our posts mean and precarious; so that I profess, I do not think any one post of the kingdom worth the briguing after, save that of being commissioner to a long session of a factious *Scots* parliament, with an antecedent commission, and that yet renders the rest of the ministers more miserable. What hinders us then, *my Lord*, to lay aside our divisions, to unite cordially and heartily together in our present circumstances, when our all is at the Stake? *Hannibal*, *my Lord*, is at our gates, *Hannibal* is come within the gates, *Hannibal* is come the length of this table; he is at the foot of this throne, he will demolish this throne; we take not notice, he will seize upon these *Regalia*; he will take them as

our

our *Spolia opima*, and whip us out
this houſe, never to return again.

For the love of God then, *my Lo*
for the ſafety and welfare of our a
tient kingdom, whoſe ſad circumſta
ces, I hope, we ſhall yet convert un
proſperity and happineſs! We want
means, if we unite; God bleſſeth th
peace-makers; we want neither me
nor ſufficiency of all manner of thing
neceſſary to make a nation happy: A
depends upon management; *Concordi*
res parvæ creſcunt. I fear not theſe a
ticles, tho' they were ten times wor
than they are, if we once cordially fo
give one another, and that, accordin
to our proverb, "Bygones be bygone
"and fair play to come." For m
part, in the ſight of God, and in th
preſence of this honourable houſe,
heartily forgive every man, and be
that they may do the ſame to m
And I do moſt humbly propoſe, Th
his Grace My Lord Commiſſioner ma
appoint an Agape, may order a lov
feaſt for this honourable houſe; th
we lay aſide all ſelf-deſigns; and th
after our faſts and humiliations, w
ha

ave a day of rejoicing and thankful-
ss, may eat our meat with gladness,
nd our bread with a merry heart.
hen shall we sit, each man under his
wn fig-tree, and the voice of the
urtle shall be heard in our land, a bird
mous for constancy and fidelity.

My Lord, I shall make a pause here,
and stop going on further in my dis-
course, till I see farther. If his Grace,
y Lord Commissioner, receive any
umble proposals, for removing mis-
derstandings among us, and putting
n end to our fatal divisions, upon
noun I have no other design, and I
m content to beg the favour upon my
nded knees.

No answer.

My Lord Chancellor, I am sorry that I
ll pursue the thread of my sad and
lancholy story. What remains, I am
id, prove as afflicting as what I
e said: I shall therefore consider
motives which have engaged the
nations to enter into a treaty of
on at this time: In general, *my Lord*,
nk both of them had it in their
o better themselves by the treaty

but

but, before I enter upon the partic
the motives of each nation, I must
forms this honourable house, that, sin
I can remember, the two nations ha
altered their sentiments upon that
fairy, even almost to downright contr
diction. They have changed hea
hands, as we say: for *England*, till
late, never thought it worth their pai
of treating with us; the good barga
they made at the beginning they
selves to keep; and that which we c
an incorporating union, was not
much as in their thoughts. The fi
notice they seemed to take of us, w
in our affair of *Caledonia*; when they h
most effectually broke off that desig
in a manner very well known to t
world, and unnecessary to be repeat
here; they kept themselves quiet duri
the time of our complaints upon th
head. In which time, our Sovereig
to satisfy the nation, and allay th
heats, did condescend to give us so
good laws, and amongst others that
personal liberty, and that of peace
war; but *England* having declared th
succession, and enacted their en

out ever taking notice of us, our
cious Sovereign queen Anne was
ciously pleased to give her royal as-
to an Act of Security, and to give
a hedge to all our sacred and civil
rests, by declaring it high treason
endeavour the alteration of them as
y were then established. Thereup-
did follow the threatening and mi-
y laws against us by the parlia-
nt of *England*, and the unjust and
equal character of what her majesty
d so graciously condescended to in
favours. Now, *my Lord*, whether
e desire they had to have us engaged
the same succession with them; or
ether that they found us, like a free
d independent people, breathing af-
more liberty than what was former-
looked after; or whether they were
id of our Act of Security, in case
her majesty's decease; which of all
motives has induced them to a
y, I leave it to themselves. This I
lay only, They have made a good
in this time also.

For the particular motives that
d us, I think they are obvious,

be known. We found, by fad exp
rience, that every man hath advanc
in power and riches as they have do
in trade: And, at the fame time, co
fidering that no where through th
world ſlaves are found to be rich
though they ſhould be adorned wit
chains of Gold; we thereupon chang
ed our notion of an incorporating u
nion to that of a federal one; and
being reſolved to take this opportuni
ty to make demands upon them, be
fore we enter into the ſucceſſion, w
were content to empower her Maje
ty to authorize and appoint Commiſſ
oners to treat with the Commiſſione
of *England*, with as ample power
the Lords Commiſſioners from *Engla*
had from their conſtituents, that w
might not appear to have leſs con
dence in her Majeſty, nor more na
row-hearted in our act than ou
neighbours of *England*. And thereu
poin, laſt Parliament, after her Maje
ty's gracious letter was read, "Deſi
ing us to declare the Succeſſion
the firſt place, and afterwards a
Commiſſioners to treat,"

fou

it necessary to renew our former resolve, which I shall read to this honourable House.

RESOLVE *presented by the Duke of* Hamilton *last Session of Parliament.*

THAT this Parliament will not proceed to the Nomination of a Successor, till we have had a previous treaty with *England* in relation to our Commerce and other concerns with that nation. And further, it is resolved, That this Parliament will proceed to make such limitations and conditions of Government, for the rectification of our constitution, as may secure the liberty, religion and independency of this kingdom, before they proceed to the nomination."

Now, *My Lord*, the last session of Parliament having, before they would enter upon any treaty with *England*, a vote of the House, passed both act for limitations, and an act for

rectification of our constitution. What mortal man has reason to doubt the design of this treaty was only federal.

My Lord Chancellor, It remains now that we consider the behaviour of the Lords Commissioners at the opening of this treaty; and, before I enter upon that, allow me to make this meditation, That, if our posterity, after we are all dead and gone, shall find themselves under an ill made bargain, and shall have a recourse unto our records, and see who have been the managers of our treaty, by which they have suffered so much, when they read the names, they will certainly conclude, and say, Ah! our nation has been reduced to the last extremity at the time of this treaty; all our great chieftains, all our great Peers and considerable men, who used formerly to defend the rights and liberties of the nation, have been all killed and dead in the bed of honour, before ever the nation was necessitat to condescend to such mean and contemptible Terms. Where are the names of the chief men of the noble families

lamies of Stewarts, Hamiltons, Grahams, Campbels, Gordons, Johnstons, Homes, Murrays, Kers, &c? Where are the two great Officers of the Crown, the Constable and Mariſhal of Scotland? They have certainly all been extinguiſhed, and now we are ſlaves for ever?

Whereas, the Engliſh records will make their poſterity reverence the memory of the honourable names who have brought under their fierce, warlike and troubleſome neighbours, who had ſtruggled ſo long for independency, ſhed the beſt blood of their nation, and reduced a conſiderable part of their country to become waſte and deſolate.

I am informed, *My Lord*, That our Commiſſioners did indeed frankly tell the Lords Commiſſioners for England, That the inclinations of the people of Scotland were much altered of late in relation to an incorporating union: and that therefore, ſince the entail was to end with her Majeſty's life, whom God long preſerve, it was proper to begin the treaty upon

of the Treaty of the 1604 year of God, the time when we came first under one sovereign: But this the English Commissioners would not agree to, and our Commissioners, that they might not seem obstinate, were willing to treat and conclude in the terms laid before this honourable House, and subjected to their determination.

If the Lords Commissioners for England had been as civil and complaisant, they should certainly have finished a federal treaty likeways, that both nations might have the choice which of them to have gone into as they thought fit; but they would hear of nothing but of an entire and complete union, either by incorporations, surrender or conquest; whereas our Commissioners thought of nothing but a fair equal incorporating union. Whether this be so or not, I leave it to every man's judgment; but, as for myself, I must beg liberty to think it no such thing. For I take an incorporating union to be, where there is [illegible] both in the material and formal part of the government; as if [illegible]

pieces of metal were melted down into one mass, it can neither be said to retain its former form or substance, as it did before the mixture. But now, when I consider this treaty, as it hath been explained and spoke to before us these three weeks bypast, I see the English constitution remaing firm, the same two Houses of Parliament, the same taxes, the same customs, the excise, the same trade in companies, the municipal laws and courts of judicature; and all ours either subject to regulations or annihilations; only we have the honour to pay their old debts, and to have some few persons present for witnesses to the validity of the deed, when they pleased to contract more.

Good God! What is this! An intire surrender! *My Lord*, I find my heart so full of grief and indignation, that I must beg pardon not to finish the last part of my discourse, that I may drop a tear in the prelude to so sad a story.

Ago

after having sat down, and some discourses by other members intervening, he continued his discourse thus.

My Lord Chancelor, What I am to say relates to the method of proceeding in this weighty affair. I hear it proposed by a noble member of the other side, that we should proceed in the same order as the Lords Commissioners treaters did. In my humbly opinion, *My Lord*, it is neither the natural method, nor can it be done without great confusion and repetition. To say, you will agree to the union of the two kingdoms before you agree in the terms upon which they are to be united, seems Like driving the plough before the oxen." The articles which narrate the conditions, seem to be the premises upon which the conclusion is inferred, and, according as they are found good or bad, the success will follow. When a man is married to a fortune in England, as they call it, I suppose he is satisfied with the thing before he determines him-

self

self to marry: and the proposal I have heard of agreeing to the first article, with a *Proviso*, That if the rest of the articles shall be found satisfactory, and not otherways, is a piece with the rest, and looks like beating the air, and no ways consistent with fair and square dealings. Besides, *My Lord*, if we were to go upon the first article, are not all the rest of the articles, besides many others not contained in the articles, valid arguments, either *pro* or *con*, against concluding or not concluding the first article? and no vote in this House can hinder a man from making use of what arguments he thinks fit. Moreover, the searching the records, and the reviſing the Statute-books, comparing the books of Rates, Cuſtoms, Exciſe and taxes of both nations, with one another, muſt all be previouſly conſidered, ere we determine ourſelves in one ſingle article. Add to this, That the prohibitory clauſe, with relation to the trade of both nations, muſt be adjuſted, leſt, like Eſop's dog, we loſe the old in graſping at the new. The ſtate of the

English Companies must also be expo-
sed, how far we shall have liberty in-
to them, and what advantage we may
propose to ourselves by treading to
these Places where they are secured;
and, above all, *My Lord*, the security
of our national Church, and of all
that is dear unto us, must be previ-
ously established to us, if practable,
before we conclude the first article.
Therefore, *My Lord*, though my hum-
bly opinion be, though we had a Cart-
blanch from England, yet the delivery
up of our sovereignty gives back with
one hand what we receive with the o-
ther, and that there can be no secu-
rity without the guaranty of a distinct
independency betwixt the parties treat-
ing; yet, My *Lord*, for farther satis-
faction to this honourable House, that
every member may fully satisfy him-
self, I humbly propose, That passing
by the first three articles, which ap-
pear to be much of a piece, we begin
at the fourth Article of the treaty;
and, if I be seconded in this, I desire
it may be put to the question.

FINIS.

BEILHAVEN's VISION.

I.

WHILE all the world to this day,
Since Nimrod did a ſceptre ſway,
Enſigns for ſov'reign power diſplay,
Shall it be told,
We, for a little ſhining clay,
A kingdom ſold?

II.

I ſee an independent State,
Repenting, when it is too late,
They die ignobly abdicate
An ancient crown,
Which their anceſtors blood and ſweat
Had handed down.

III.

See the Church round fenc'd with all
The pointed laws kings could propale,
Made Noah's ark to priſts of Baal,
Scotman Crowe,
Arminian, and a black cabal
Of faithleſs Jews.

IV.

See our noble Peers reſort
To pulls and penſions to the court,
Sir, having danc'd attendance for't,
Till they think fame,
Our Union-gowns falling ſhort,
Cocks trotting hame.

V.

I for our Barons, whose Grandsire
Did spurn bend, will'd citizen fire,
And [illegible] wealth, and fame acquire
Obliged to stand,
At distance from an English squire,
With hat in hand.

VI.

I see our Royal Borough glad,
By taxes on the common lads,
Would eat of rump-beards of (nadir) not right
With down-cast eyes of flesh
To supplicate the beard for bread
In the English not [illegible]

VII.

I for an honest ploughman spout
Half of his faithful pottage sup[illegible]
Docking thumb-ropes of fame sheep
His [illegible]
And kindling turf, [illegible]
For want of coals.

VIII.

Our gallant Soldiers [illegible]
Abroad in the [illegible]
Some left, their [illegible]
[illegible]
Without subsistence by [illegible]
With dog [illegible]

The first three Articles [illegible]
That to be Scotsmen [illegible]
Their constitution is the [illegible]
[illegible]
Their Kings and [illegible]